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**REPORT FROM THE ROUNDTABLE
ON CANADA, NATO AND THE UNITED NATIONS:
LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE KOSOVO CRISIS**

Marketa Geislerova,
Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development

October 1, 1999
Ottawa, Ontario

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On October 1, 1999, the Human Rights Research and Education Centre at the University of Ottawa in partnership with the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development organised a one-day roundtable on the lessons from Kosovo. The roundtable focussed on the implications of the Kosovo crisis for Canada, NATO and the UN. It brought together a wide range of International Relations and legal experts, academics, government officials, NGOs and students. The proceedings were broadcast by CPAC on October 27, 1999.

1. Thinking about the Kosovo Intervention

John Polanyi, Nobel Laureate, University of Toronto, opened the discussion by pondering the **moral aspects of NATO's intervention in Kosovo**. He went on to say that concern about the fate of human beings does not stop at our border. We must extend our commitments and responsibilities abroad and strive to strengthen the rule of law everywhere. While some may argue that the intervention in Kosovo actually weakened the rule of law, it had extensive moral backing within the international community. Lacking was the institutional approval/legitimation of the action by the UN Security Council. Nevertheless, what would the consequences of inaction be?

John Polanyi further pointed out that the Kosovo intervention brings to focus several other questions. What are the criteria for intervention? How to achieve desired ends and at what cost? Kosovo made the case that it is unacceptable for a nation to invade another and that there are limits to governments' actions within their own state borders. Sovereignty is less than absolute. There is no law that requires the international community to respect a lawless government. There is no doubt that the humanitarian intervention in Kosovo enhanced terror perpetrated against the Kosovo Albanians by the Yugoslav leadership. While more effective ways have to be found to address humanitarian crises, criminals must be punished. Here our unpreparedness to go on the ground and sacrifice military life come to the fore. Similarly to domestic policing, humanitarian intervention entails risks. The failure to recognise this fact and commit resources towards effectively re-enforcing the rule of law is a testimony to the ambiguous attitudes within the international community towards intra-state/humanitarian causes.

If we are unwilling to pay, we will be unable to succeed. New thinking has to be encouraged as a lesson from our experience in Kosovo. A myriad of tragedies occur every day across the globe. There was a chance for a new beginning for Germany and Japan. Why not the Balkans?

The moral justification of the Kosovo intervention was outlined by Paul Heinbecker, Assistant Deputy Minister, Global and Security Policy, DFAIT. He argued, similarly to Polanyi, that there was little doubt the international community as a whole favoured the action. However, there was also little doubt that the initiative would be blocked by the Chinese and Russians at the Security Council. Fear that no decision would be taken by the Assembly prevented the initiative to go through that channel as well.

General Michel Maisonneuve drew attention to the on-the-ground experiences of the Kosovo Verification Mission. He also pointed out that the role of Canada within the OSCE is credible. Where the Kosovo Verification Mission was effective, breaches of humanitarian law were prevented. While the work of such Missions is invaluable, there are difficulties with enforcing humanitarian standards in practice.

To counter criticisms aimed at the selective nature of NATO's involvement, Paul Heinbecker pointed out that just because NATO can not intervene everywhere does not mean it should not intervene anywhere. Drawing on the Czech President, Vaclav Havel's appeal, decent people simply can not sit back and tolerate the atrocities committed by the government of Yugoslavia. In this instance, human security trumped sovereignty.

Others were not as enthusiastic about the legitimacy of the NATO intervention in Kosovo. Marcus Gee, The Globe and Mail, for example, argued that the international community flaunted law on behalf of the rule of law. It is simply unacceptable that the UN was circumscribed on the basis of potential rejection. Moreover, Gee pointed out the devastating consequences of the NATO bombing campaign on lives and infrastructure as well as the acceleration of massacres by the Yugoslav leadership. NATO forces openly took the side of the Kosovo Liberation Army. Serbia capitulated because it was unable to fight the air campaign. While refugees returned, rebuilding and reconciliation remains a huge challenge. In a way, the involvement of the international community in Kosovo was inspiring. However, the effects and practicalities of humanitarian intervention have to be seriously thought through.

An argument was made that the Kosovo intervention was a clear violation of international law. The principle of NATO as a defensive alliance was also challenged. Circumscribing the Security Council made the action illegal. In the final analysis, the Canadian government also violated its own Constitution. Geoffrey Pearson expressed his doubts about the inclusiveness of the term "international community" and asked the question whether countries like China, India or Indonesia were not a part of it. Others pointed out that the concept of humanitarian intervention is hypocritical since it seems to apply to some but not others. How would Canadians react if human intervention was proposed for Canada? Without clear criteria, humanitarian intervention might become a tool of Northern neo-colonialism. To a question posed by Polanyi: does not

morality and common sense trump the law, critics replied by asking: morality and common sense for whom?

Concerns were raised about the prospects for a **just peace** in Kosovo. While the intervention might have stopped atrocities and deportations, the tensions between Albanians and Serbs persist. As Errol Mendes, Ottawa University, pointed out, winning peace will be difficult. Some asked "a just peace" for whom? Certainly, not the Serbs.

Officials drew attention to the lack of resources and often the lack of political will to initiate and sustain peace-keeping efforts. Moreover, humanitarian intervention does not only require military action/presence, it also includes a large civilian component. The inter-operability of the diverse groups involved in humanitarian initiatives has to be enhanced, beginning with integrated planning and deployment. Tools for humanitarian intervention have to be developed so that the capacity to address civilian protection and ensure human security on a global basis exists. This need poses major challenges for militaries in terms of equipment and strategy.

2. Institutional Context

David Malone, President, International Peace Academy, elaborated on the institutional context for humanitarian intervention, especially the UN. He said that the main developments at the UN include:

- A general shift in favour of intervention (The U.S.A. in particular has been the champion of using Chapter 7 to intervene in Kuwait as well as Kosovo. The U.S.A. has been also in favour of imposing economic sanctions, often unilaterally. There has been a rising incidence of naval blockade in 1990's.)
- A tendency to build "coalitions of the willing."
- A growing interest in using regional organisations by the UN Security Council (NATO).
- A growing concern about human rights, especially the plight of the refugees. (While human rights has been an issue literally quarantined from the Security Council agenda there has been some action on human rights monitoring and institution building.)
- A growing interest in democratisation and elections (with the hope that democracy would lead to greater stability.)
- An emphasis on the civilian component within peace operations (i.e., civilian administration, human rights monitoring, reform of the judicial system).
- The Security Council's role in supporting Truth Commissions for countries emerging out of civil wars (Rwanda, former Yugoslavia). The creation of these Tribunals served as impetus for the establishment of the International Criminal Court.

NATO itself is facing some serious challenges. Its exclusion of Russia from the enlargement process has undermined NATO's general consensus. The unity of the alliance was perhaps more fragile than publicly appeared during the Kosovo campaign. The shift in orientation from deterrence to action generated some confusion and crystallised problems (i.e.,

the chasm between the Western powers and Russia). There is no doubt that NATO needs the UN to legitimise its actions internationally as well as to fill the civilian component of humanitarian interventions. (The defeat in the General Assembly of the proposal by Russia to end the air strike legitimised the Kosovo intervention by default.)

While the U.S.A. is increasingly impatient with the UN, it idealises NATO – a situation that may alter after the Kosovo action has been closely assessed. The Kosovo intervention also pointed to U.S.A. particularism in its reluctance to commit ground troops and sacrifice military lives. While the U.S.A. would like to shift more responsibility for regional conflicts to the Europeans, it prevents industrial mergers that would improve Europe's defence capacity.

The role of the G-8 was also explored. According to Malone, the G-8 played a more important role than may be apparent. (For instance, the G-8 countries prepared the "end of bombing" package and sanctioned a peace-keeping force in Kosovo.) The Russians cooperate within the G-8. Canada is also quite enthusiastic about the G-8. Paul Heinbecker said that it can be the main vehicle through which Canada can act.

3. International Law Context: Territoriality versus Human Integrity

Errol Mendes framed this part of the discussion by pointing to a "tragic flaw" in the UN Charter. He said that the UN Charter contains two potentially contradictory concepts. One stating that the principal condition for global peace and security is territorial integrity and political independence. The other makes human integrity or human rights central. Which is more foundational? Mendes argues that the Cold War tilted the balance towards the former. While the body of international humanitarian and human rights law grew steadily, it was not before the fall of the Berlin Wall and two genocidal events (Great Lakes and Bosnia) that the principle of human integrity began to supercede preoccupations with sovereignty. This tendency can be seen, for instance, in the creation of the Ad Hoc Tribunal to Prosecute War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia, which also assumed jurisdiction for War Crimes in Rwanda, the establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court, the Augusto Pinochet extradition case, and finally NATO's intervention in Kosovo.

The flaw in the UN Charter, according to Mendes, can only be solved by framing the two principles within the framework of human security. Human security is a concept that has the potential to "combine the essential values behind territorial integrity and political independence *where they are compatible with international humanitarian and human rights law.*"

John Currie, University of Ottawa, pointed out that perhaps the most tragic flaw is that we allowed ourselves to be mesmerised by the principle of territoriality – a principle that was never meant to be an end in itself. It is difficult to exult in the victory of human integrity, pondering the barbarity of the Kosovo intervention. It was a desperate response. One may perceive it as a lesser of two evils. It should not comfort us and bring us satisfaction about a job

well done for humanity's sake. The intervention was an inditement of international law. The international community was reduced to barbarism. It points to our failure to create conditions that would prevent the crisis. Claude Emmanuelli, Ottawa University, pointed out that while there is demand to alter the international normative framework, we should be careful not to have a materialistic approach to rules and laws. Existing laws are under-utilised as it is.

The principle of self-determination came to focus during the discussion. Metta Spencer, Peace Magazine, argued that clear criteria for the right of self-determination would reduce illegitimate claims for independence world-wide. Conditions under which the right to secede is legitimate (sanctioned by the international community) should be identified.

4. Theoretical Context: Human Security and Humanitarian Intervention

Paul Heinbecker said that the NATO campaign can be perceived as the first war to defend human values. The crisis has validated Canada's commitments to human security. There was little strategic interest in defending the Kosovo Albanians. Nevertheless, while a new benchmark has been established, NATO is less likely to act beyond Europe. The UN has to come to terms with the new challenges the human security paradigm poses. The protection of people must be accepted as the core of UN activities. However, clear criteria for humanitarian intervention must be established to avoid charges of Western neo-colonialism by developing countries. Care must be taken so that the criteria do not become an impediment to action. Geoffrey Pearson suggested that perhaps the Convention on Genocide could be the basis towards establishing some humanitarian intervention criteria. Some reacted to this proposal negatively, since the Genocide Convention is not gender specific. Many recent atrocities targeted women (i.e., rape).

Canadians remain supportive of humanitarian intervention. TV coverage is key to this public support. Canadians also have a high quality air power and a professional diplomatic service. While Minister Axworthy's leadership provides energy, the foreign service is stretched thin.

Dean Oliver, Canadian War Museum, argued that based on human nature, there is a large role for the military in ensuring security. He said that there is a dissonance between the rhetoric of human security and the capacity to implement a human security agenda. Inter-state conflict is not behind us. The Kosovo intervention showed that NATO is the most effective tool in addressing international security problems. Human security underestimates the utility of military force while it makes demands on the "residual" forces. Current military capacity is over-extended and insufficient. This may eventually lead to undermining Canada's credibility to deliver on human security commitments. Reacting to the calls for enhanced military capacity, Bob Miller, Parliamentary Centre, expressed his doubts about such a development in the context of the restrictive fiscal environment.

Donna Winslow, University of Ottawa, pointed out that the task of the military should be securing an environment conducive to peace-building. It is somebody else's job to develop an

environment for democracy. The complex encounters between the military and civilian components of humanitarian interventions must be dissected. A new framework has to be developed to incorporate the diverse actors involved in humanitarian interventions including NGOs, and para-state agencies. Military discussions can no longer remain isolated from political discussions. Fora should be established that facilitate the exchange of information, network building, and cooperation among diverse sectors of Canadian state and society (i.e., universities, organisations such as the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development).

Brian Tomlinson, Canadian Council for International Cooperation, pointed out that the NGO community is not well situated to address humanitarian intervention. Instead it is engaged in a long term development. There is a general consensus that conflict is a result of political, diplomatic and socio-economic factors. It is here where influence on policy should be directed. However, this is increasingly difficult in the context of structural adjustment programmes. If social justice issues are not addressed, no amount of intervention can bring a peaceful and secure world to existence. We must remain sceptical about the grave consequences of human engineering. Humility is necessary.

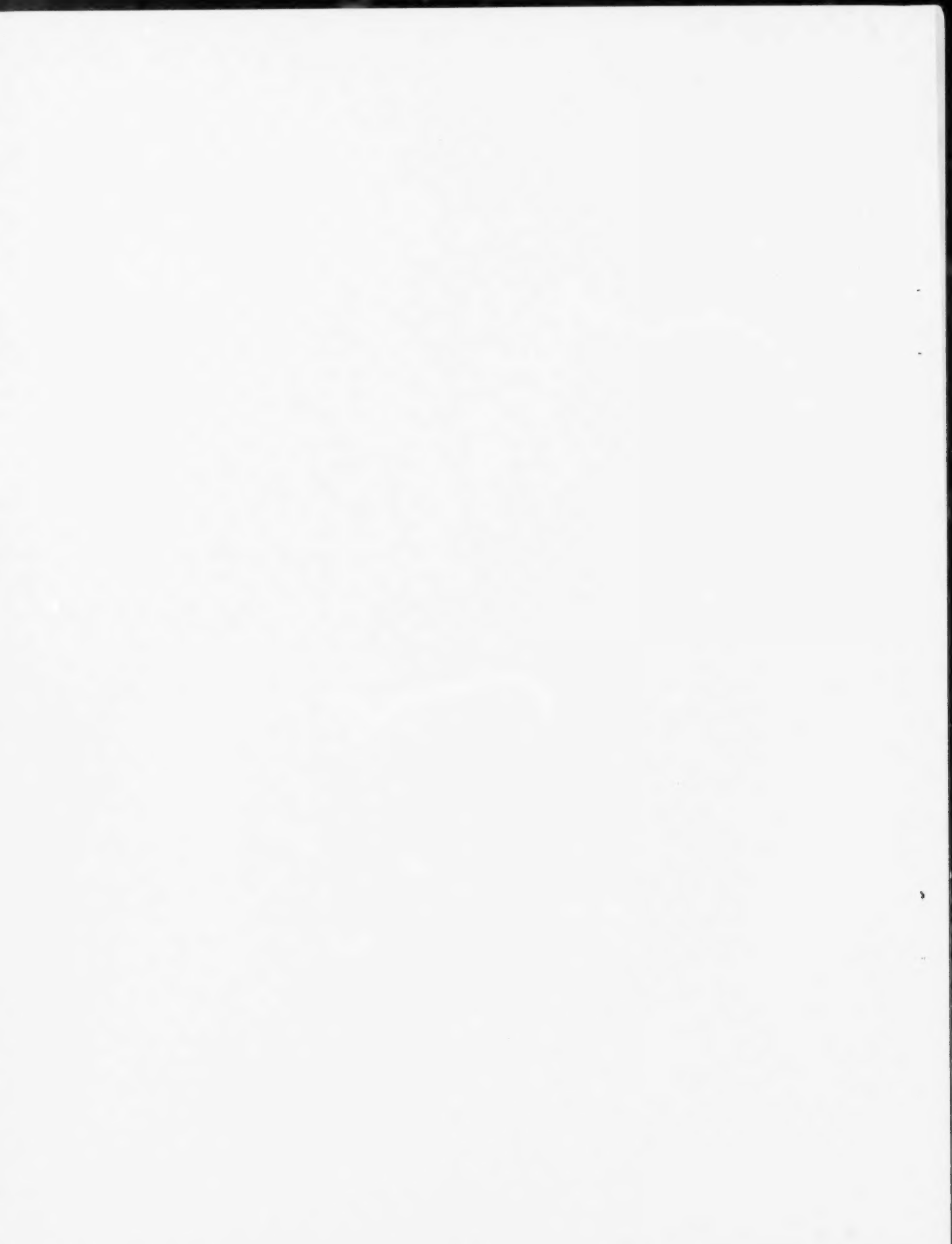
Don Hubert, DFAIT, asked whether it is legitimate at all to use deadly force for civilian protection or the achievement of human security goals. Prosecution of war criminals is not protection, despite its deterrent qualities. What does it mean to make people safe, what does it take? Is a mere military presence a means to protecting civilians? Some argued that the creation of safe havens could be revisited. Claude Emmanuelli, suggested that security zones often do not work since those maintaining them have to be ready to defend them at all costs. Otherwise they just attract attention and enhance the vulnerability of a threatened group. Errol Mendes pointed out that conflict prevention facilitates security. The power/influence of the IMF and other IFIs could be brought to bear on authoritarian states.

5. Conclusion

Steven Lee, Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development offered a few closing remarks. He drew attention to Paul Heinbecker's overview of the intervention including the role of the G-8, NATO's moral justification of the war, the importance of human rights over national/territorial rights, the importance of the media, the question of finding effective criteria for intervention, the fact that atrocities committed on the ground can not be stopped from the air, and that the veto power in the Security Council is not always absolute. He also recognised the importance of an historical perspective, offered by Maya Shatzmiller, McGill University, and others throughout the day, including the shadow of intra-European conflicts through religious wars and the Crusades.

Criteria for humanitarian intervention could be developed in the framework of complex civilian-military encounters. The inter-operability of the military, NGOs, DFAIT, CIDA and others may be difficult to achieve. The deadlock at the Security Council must be resolved.

Human Security and National Security can be mutually re-enforcing. Some reflection should be made on tendencies within the international system including, the unwillingness of the U.S.A. to commit ground troops and risk military lives, as well as the growing tendency to address problems through informal coalitions rather than international institutions.



**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS FOR
THE HRREC KOSOVO ROUNDTABLE
October 1, 1999**

Dr. Dean Oliver
Canadian War Museum

Mr. Geoffrey Pearson
United Nations Association in Canada

Mr. Steven Wallace
Canadian International Development
Agency

Dr. Douglas Bland
Queen's University

Prof. Donna Winslow
University of Ottawa

Prof. Claude Emmanuelli
University of Ottawa

Prof. Ernie Regehr
Project Ploughshares

Dr. John Polanyi
University of Toronto

Dr. David Malone
International Peace Academy

Mr. Michael Small
Department of Foreign Affairs and
International Trade

Dr. Don Hubert
Department of Foreign Affairs and
International Trade

Prof. John Currie
University of Ottawa

Mr. Bob Miller
Parliamentary Centre

The Honourable Jean-Jacques Blais,
P.C., Pearson Peacekeeping Centre

Mr. David Meren

Prof. Maya Shatzmiller
McGill University

Prof. Metta Spencer
Science for Peace

Prof. Hélène Viaud
McGill University

Mr. Giles Gherson or Mike Trickey
Southam News/Ottawa Citizen

Mr. Chris Hynes

Mr. Christian Geiser
Université du Québec à Montréal

General Michel Maisonneuve
Department of National Defence

Mr. Marcus Gee
The Globe and Mail

Mr. Steven Lee
Centre for Foreign Policy
Development

Prof. Errol Mendes
Human Rights Research and
Education Centre

Mr. Robin Hay
Human Rights Research and
Education Centre

Mr. Lajos Arendás
Department of Foreign Affairs and
International Trade

Mr. Brian Tomlinson
Canadian Council for International
Cooperation

Ms. Nahla Ayed
Canadian Press

Prof. Harald von Riekhoff
Carleton University

Dr. Necla Tschirgi
International Development Research
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Mr. Sébastien Sigouin
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Ms. Heidi Hulan
Department of Foreign Affairs and
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Ms. Anik Lalonde
University of Ottawa

Ms. Tahrita Knight
University of Ottawa

Ms. Sacha Palladino
University of Ottawa

Ms. Jennifer Reynolds-Fry
Department of Justice

Prof. Magda Opalsky
Carleton University

Mr. Paul Heinbecker
Department of Foreign Affairs and
International Trade

Ms. Heather MacKinnon
Norman Paterson School of
International Affairs

Ms. Marketa Geisler
Centre for Foreign Policy
Development

Mr. Yannick Lamonde
Centre for Foreign Policy
Development

Dr. Roman Jakubow
Department of National Defence

Mr. Roger Smith
CTV News

Biographies of Speakers

John H. Currie, Professor of Law, University of Ottawa

Professor Currie joined the Faculty of Law at the University of Ottawa on a permanent basis in July, 1998 following a year as visiting professor in 1997-98. Amongst others, he acted as counsel to the Government of Canada during the Somalia Inquiry. Prof. Currie completed an undergraduate degree in astrophysics at the University of Toronto before obtaining his LL.B. from the University of Ottawa. He next obtained his LL.M. at the University of Cambridge, where he concentrated on international and European Union law. His thesis focused on the prosecution of crimes against humanity in national courts. His publications include three co-authored books as well as contributions to journals on international legal issues. His research interests lie primarily in the area of public international law, particularly humanitarian law, the international regulation of the use of force, and extraterritorial exercises of jurisdiction by states. He recently published an article in the Canadian Yearbook of International Law on the legality of NATO's intervention in Kosovo.

Marcus Gee, Foreign Affairs Columnist, *The Globe and Mail*

Marcus Gee is an international affairs columnist and writer for *The Globe and Mail*. Born in Toronto, he graduated from the University of British Columbia in 1979 with a degree in modern European history, then worked as a reporter for *The Province*, Vancouver's morning newspaper. He spent four years in Asia in the early 1980s, the first three in Hong Kong as an editor, writer and correspondent for *Asiaweek* magazine, the last as a reporter for United Press International in Manila and Sydney. After returning to Canada, he worked as a foreign affairs writer at *Maclean's* magazine and as a senior editor at the *Financial Times* of Canada. He joined the *Globe* in September 1991 as an editorial writer. In 1998, he won a national newspaper award for his weekly column on international affairs.

Paul Heinbecker, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT)

Paul Heinbecker, born in Kitchener, Ontario, is an Honours English and History graduate of Sir Wilfrid Laurier University. In 1993, he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate by the same university. Since he joined DFAIT in 1965, he has been posted as Third/Second Secretary in Ankara, First Secretary in Stockholm, Counsellor in Paris (OECD), Minister in Washington and Ambassador of Canada to the Federal Republic of Germany. He also received many senior assignments in Ottawa, such as Director of the United States General Relations Division, Chairman of the Policy Development Secretariat, Senior Policy Advisor and Speech Writer for the Prime Minister, Chief Foreign Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister and Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet (Foreign and Defence Policy) and, since 1996, Assistant Deputy Minister for Global and Security Policy.

Don Hubert, Senior Policy Advisor, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT)

Don Hubert works in the Peacebuilding and Human Security division of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). He has a Ph.D. in Social and Political Science from the University of Cambridge, and has held post-doctoral positions at the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies at Dalhousie University and the Humanitarianism and War Project at Brown University. He worked for the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board in the early 1990s. Since joining DFAIT, he has also been a member of the Policy Planning Staff and Coordinator of Humanitarian Affairs. His research interests include people-centred approaches to security, humanitarian affairs and peacebuilding.

Steven Lee, National Director, Centre for Foreign Policy Development

Steven Lee has been National Director of the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development since its establishment in 1996. Located at DFAIT and reporting to the Minister, the Centre has a mandate to engage civil society in foreign policy making. In the past two-years they have undertaken 45 policy roundtables across Canada, generated 160 papers and reports and organized the annual National Forum on Canada's International Relations (since 1996). Since 1979, Steven Lee has worked with NGOs, academics and parliamentarians in foreign policy and international affairs activities. At the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, he published several papers and has written and commented for the media. Recent publications include: "Beyond Consultations" in *Canada Among Nations* (1998) and "Federalism and Nation-building in Canada" in *Managing Diversity* (1998).

J.O. Michel Maisonneuve, Director General Land Staff, NDHQ

Brigadier-General Maisonneuve is a graduate of Royal Military College (1976) and Canadian Forces Command and Staff College (1988). He served three tours in Cyprus, the last as Lieutenant Colonel in command of 12e Régiment blindé du Canada. Promoted to Colonel in 1993, he served in the headquarters of UNPROFOR in the former Yugoslavia as the Chief Operations Officer. During this period he was awarded the Force Commander's Commendation. From June to September 1995, He attended the Senior Joint and Combined Warfighting course at Armed Forces Staff College in Norfolk, Virginia, where he received the General Douglas MacArthur Foundation Award for heading a Collaborative Campaign Analysis. In 1998 he was appointed to the rank of Brigadier General and was seconded to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe as Head of the Kosovo Verification Mission Support Unit. Brigadier-General Maisonneuve reassumed his current post in May 1999.

David M. Malone, President, International Peace Academy (IPA)

David Malone became President of the IPA on November 1, 1998 on leave from the Canadian Government. A career Canadian Foreign Service officer and occasional scholar, he was successively, over the period 1994-1998, Director General of the Policy, International Organizations and Global Issues Bureaus of the Canadian Foreign and Trade Ministry. During

this period, he also acquired a D. Phil. from Oxford University with a thesis on decision-making in the UN Security Council. From 1992 to 1994, he was Ambassador and Deputy Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, where he chaired the negotiations of the UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (the Committee of 34) and the UN General Assembly consultations on peacekeeping issues. From 1990 to 1992, he represented Canada on the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and related bodies. Earlier foreign assignments took him to Egypt, Kuwait and Jordan. Born in 1954, he is a graduate of l'Université de Montréal, of the American University in Cairo and of Harvard University.

Errol Mendes, Director, Human Rights Research and Education Centre

Professor Errol P. Mendes (LL.M.) is the Director of the Human Rights Research and Education Centre. A professor with 18 years experience at law faculties across Canada, Professor Mendes is a recognized scholar with an international reputation in the areas of constitutional law, human rights and international business and trade law. He is also the Editor-in-chief of the National Journal of Constitutional Law and a panel member on Boards of Inquiry under the Ontario Human Rights Code and the Human Rights Tribunal under the Canadian Human Rights Act. Professor Mendes has greatly expanded the international mandate of the HRREC. The Centre under the direction of Professor Mendes developed projects in China, Indonesia, India, Thailand, Brazil, and El Salvador, with projects being developed in Sri Lanka, Africa, South America and the Russian Federation.

Robert Miller, Executive Director, Parliamentary Centre

Robert Miller is Executive Director of the Parliamentary Centre, a not-for-profit organization dedicated to strengthening legislatures in Canada and around the world as vital institutions for good governance. Mr. Miller was educated at the University of Western Ontario and Duke University, where he undertook studies in political philosophy and comparative politics. On joining the Parliamentary Centre in 1978, Mr. Miller commenced an extended period of work as research advisor to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons. During this period, he wrote and oversaw the preparation of a series of major committee studies on Canadian foreign policy, including North-South policy, Canada's relations with Latin America, the peace process in Central America and Canadian aid policy. Mr. Miller has written extensively on Canadian foreign policy particularly as it relates to governance, democratization and peacebuilding. Among the major studies which he has written or edited: *Canada and Democratic Development* (1985), *Governance and IDRC* (1989), *Aid as Peacemaker* (1994) and *Missions for Peace* (1998).

Dean F. Oliver, Senior Historian, Canadian War Museum

Dean F. Oliver (MA, Ph.D., York) is Senior Historian at the Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. He was formerly Assistant Director of York University's Centre for International and Security Studies and, from 1996-98, was a post-doctoral fellow at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University. He has taught military history, political science and international security, and is currently a part-time lecturer on defence policy and international

affairs at Carleton, where he also supervises graduate students. He has published widely on twentieth-century Canadian military history, defence policy and international security, and is a frequent media commentator on contemporary defence issues. Dr. Oliver is the contributor for "foreign affairs and defence policy" to the *Canadian Annual Review of Politics and Public Affairs*. He writes mainly on post-1945 defence and foreign policy, war veterans, and army involvement in the two world wars. Articles published recently or forthcoming cover such topics as Passchendaele, the 1918 Armistice, Canadian foreign policy in the Balkans, the campaign to ban anti-personal landmines, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the concept of "soft power".

John Polanyi, Nobel Laureate, University of Toronto

John Polanyi, is a professor at the University of Toronto. His current research centres on the molecular motions in chemical reactions at surfaces, including the printing of molecular-scale patterns. He is a Fellow of the Royal Societies of Canada, of London, and of Edinburgh, also of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the Russian Academy of Sciences, and the Pontifical Academy of Rome. His awards include the 1986 Nobel Prize in Chemistry, and the Royal Medal of the Royal Society of London. In addition to his scientific publications he has written over one hundred articles on the government of science and on the control of armaments, and has co-edited a book, "The Dangers of Nuclear War".

Donna Winslow, Professor of Sociology, University of Ottawa

Dr. Donna Winslow is an award-winning anthropologist and associate professor at the University of Ottawa. She received her PhD from Université de Montréal and has done field work in Canada and around the world in South East Asia, the South Pacific and Central America. Since 1995, she has been working in the field of peace studies where she looks at military culture and its impact on peace operations. From 1995 to 1997 she served as a technical advisor to the Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia. Her work resulted in the publication of a book, entitled "The Canadian Airborne Regiment in Somalia: A Socio-cultural Inquiry". She has worked with the Department of National Defence on the role of military culture in the breakdown of discipline among Canadian Forces deployed to the former Yugoslavia. Dr. Winslow is currently analyzing the literature pertaining to Army culture, as well as collaborating with the George C. Marshall Centre in Germany on a large project on the cultural complexities of the successive operations in the former Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY).



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Human Rights Research and
Education Centre

**GORDON F. HENDERSON HUMAN RIGHTS SYMPOSIUM ON
*CANADA, NATO AND THE UNITED NATIONS:
LESSONS-LEARNED FROM THE KOSOVO CRISIS*
Room 371 West Block, Parliament Buildings
OCTOBER 1, 1999**

AGENDA

MORNING

- 8:15 - 8:45 **Registration and Coffee**
- 8:45 - 9:00 **Welcome and Introduction:**
Professor Errol Mendes, Director, Human Rights Research and Education Centre
- 9:00 - 9:30 **Opening Remarks**
Dr. John Polanyi, Nobel Laureate, University of Toronto
Brigadier- General Michel Maisonneuve, Department of National Defence
- 9:30 - 10:00 **The Implications of Kosovo for the United Nations, NATO and Regional Organizations**
Dr. David Malone, President, International Peace Academy
Response: Marcus Gee, Foreign Affairs Columnist, *The Globe and Mail*
Facilitator: Bob Miller, Director, Parliamentary Centre
- 10:00 - 10:30 **Facilitated Discussion**
- 10:30 - 10:45 **Coffee and Juice**
- 10:45 - 11:15 **International Law and the Response to Kosovo:**
Professor Errol Mendes
Response: Professor John Currie, University of Ottawa, Faculty of Law
Facilitator: Bob Miller
- 11:15 - 11:45 **Facilitated Discussion**

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